

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF UROLOGY AND SEXOLOGY

WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M. D., EDITOR.

VOL. XIV.

FEBRUARY, 1918.

No. 2.

Translated for THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF UROLOGY AND SEXOLOGY.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF KLEPTOMANIA.*

By WILHELM STEKEL, M.D., Vienna.

Translation with Additions

By SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM, M.D., New York.

KLEPTOMANIA has long puzzled physicians, [as well as sociologists, jurists and criminologists]. In many instances it was difficult to say whether one was dealing with downright theft or with kleptomania, with crime or with disease. The cases were labelled kleptomania if a motive for the stealing could not be discovered, [if the offender had no need for the article stolen and did not convert it into money,] and if it could be shown that the theft was the result of an uncontrollable compulsion. [Cynics have maintained that theft is kleptomania if the offender is rich and has political influence.]

It has long been noted as a peculiar circumstance that it is usually wealthy or at least well-to-do women visiting the large modern department stores who are guilty of inexplicable thefts. Duboisson has only recently described this monomania as *magasin-itis*. Even before him Bontemps (*Du vol dans les grands magasins*), Lasegue (*Le vol aux étalages*), and Letulle (*Voleuses honnetes*) reported a series of interesting cases, every one of which showed almost the identical psychic mechanism. Women of this type say that an unknown power suddenly compels them to touch some particular object and thrust it into their pockets [or other receptacles]. Afterwards some forget all about it; others are overcome by intense shame and regret; many never touch [or even look at] the stolen object again.

* The original of the following essay was published in the "*Zeitschrift für Sexualwissenschaft*," 1918, pp. 588-600, under the title "Die sexuelle Wurzel der Kleptomanie," and is here translated from a corrected copy sent to the translator by the author. The translator's additions are printed in brackets.—S. A. T.

The choice of objects stolen is very interesting. Usually they are trifles: lace, gloves, a small note-book, pencils, etc. In some cases a superficial motive for the theft may be discovered: a well-to-do lady whose child is sick may steal a doll. She is more comprehensible than the countess (reported by Letulle) who stole laces. Let us hear what the latter says: "It is impossible to describe what was going on within me; the temptation was stronger than I. I do not know what caused me to do it. I just took the object and hid it."

We are dealing therefore with a temptation to commit a sin [or crime]. Some of my psychoanalytic patients have proved to me that ungratified sexuality was at the root of all these cases of kleptomania. These women are struggling with temptation. They are in perpetual conflict with their desires. They would love to do what is forbidden them. But they haven't the courage. The theft is a symbolic act for them. It is always only a case of doing something forbidden and touching something that does not belong to them. Even the objects stolen have a secret symbolic significance for them, the meaning of which we know from the Freudian analysis of dreams. In the case of the countess above referred to, 'lace' [a word which in German also means 'point'] was [probably] a symbol for another pointed object, viz.: the phallus. (This symbolism is in all probability at the root of all neurotic fears of pointed objects,—äichmophobia.)

Prior to the publication of my discovery of the sexual basis of kleptomania Professor Freud drew my attention to the clever work of Dr. Otto Gross (*Das Freudsche Ideogenitätsmoment und seine Bedeutung im manisch-depressiven Irresein Kraepelins*, Leipzig, 1907) in which a case of kleptomania in a manic depressive woman is carefully analysed. The patient was a young girl, born of healthy parents, free from hereditary taint, who in her seventh year had received an injury on the head and who subsequently suffered from fainting spells and periodical attacks of depression or excitement. Later she became afflicted with intense kleptomaniac compulsions. "At such a time I could not bear to see anything lying before me without being overcome by an incomprehensible impulse to take it. It was small objects that I was particularly fond of; I just had to take it; I had no rest till I took it." [The small objects are probably symbols for a baby.—S. A. T.]

For the four years prior to her coming under Dr. Gross's observation, the patient had a liaison with an impotent man. ("She

could not bear to see anything *lying* before her.") When his sexual potency returned and she thought herself pregnant the impulse to steal disappeared. (She no longer needed to take what belonged to someone else.) She had been peculiarly impressed by a question put to her by a confessor who asked her about her sexual experiences. Among other questions, she said, he had asked her whether she had taken the phallus in her hand and inserted it.

The number of objects she had stolen was very large. There were stockings, a muff, gloves, purses, bracelets, rings, umbrellas, etc. One who has had a practical knowledge of psychoanalysis at once knows that these objects have great emotional significance as symbols. (Purses, rings, bracelets, muff, stockings, gloves, etc., are all objects into which something is inserted; an umbrella is a common symbol for phallus owing to a remote resemblance between the mechanism of opening it and an erection.)

Gross recognized without any difficulty the sexual basis of this case of kleptomania. The patient was ruled by a desire "secretly to do something of a forbidden nature" or, more clearly expressed, "to take secretly something that was forbidden." (An allusion to the question whether she had taken the phallus in her hand.) Gross aptly says: "In this way the genesis of the kleptomaniac symptom is quite complete; the connecting link, "secretly to take something forbidden" is common to both motives, the sexual desire and the impulse to steal; by means of this connecting link the affective energy pertaining to the sexual motive that is not admissible to consciousness is transferred upon the motive to steal which, characteristically enough, encounters much less psychic resistance. And once this transferred thought has become definitely fixed, the impulse to steal remains definitely the symbol for every desire for sexual gratification and attracts to itself all the affective significance, the whole impulsive energy of the individual's sexuality; it becomes as irresistible as the sexual impulse. And this displaced affective emphasis determines the pathological compulsion to steal.

Gross is therefore of exactly the same opinion as Freud and myself. But the matter may be expressed somewhat more simply. We are dealing with a "repressed" sexual desire which is translated into deeds by means of a symbol or a symbolic act. Every compulsion in the psychic domain originates in repression. [For the definition of "repression" cf. THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF UROLOGY AND SEXOLOGY, November 1916, a paper by the *Translator*.]

A connection between theft and an abnormal sexual life had

been noticed by earlier observers. They could not help noticing it. Thefts from fetichistic motives have been described with especial frequency. Zippe (*Wiener Med. Wochenschrift*, 1879, No. 23) reports a baker's assistant who, from the time he was nineteen years of age, masturbated to excess and stole handkerchiefs. Eighty to ninety handkerchiefs were discovered among his belongings. The symbolic significance may perhaps lie in the fact that a handkerchief is inserted into one's pocket. [It seems more probable that the handkerchief derived a sexual significance from the practice of some boys to wrap it about the phallus while masturbating, so that the kerchief is a kind of vagina substitute.—S. A. T.]

In Krafft-Ebing's "Psychopathia Sexualis" (13th edition, 1907) we find a series of pertinent observations. It is a truly remarkable assemblage. Here we have (Observation 79) a laborer who, from his fourteenth year, steals shoes. Then a shoemaker (Obs. 108) who stole women's night-caps, garters, and lingerie. A fellow (Obs. 111) who stole aprons and who dreamt of aprons. A manufacturer (Obs. 127) who illegally annexed leather gloves. A day laborer (Obs. 235) who had stolen about a hundred ladies handkerchiefs. And similarly a servant (Obs. 236).

These thefts betray their sexual etiology without more ado. The stolen object derives its significance from being a sexual fetich, which is nothing but a symbol which owes its significance to a combination of peculiar circumstances. Kersten (*Archiv f. Kriminal-Anthropologie*, 1906, XXV) recounts the story of a laborer in a quarry who stole a lady's dress, put it on and then cohabited with his wife. He could never cohabit successfully if he did not first put on a woman's petticoat.

In women we often find another factor, the direct opposite of this. They hide the stolen object and dare not touch [or even look at] it, as in the case reported by Ladame (*Korrespondenzblatt f. Schweizer Ärzte*, 1902, p. 102, "Observations de soi-disant kleptomane d'un cas de Psychoneurasthenique"). A castrated woman who subsequently was left a widow and who was comfortably situated, became afflicted with apprehension neurosis (great fatigue, sleeplessness, etc.). Before she stole anything she suffered great anxiety. Regrets and remorse afterwards. She dared not touch the stolen objects. She acted for all the world as if it were a matter of touching a man's genitals.

In the cases that follow we are dealing not with fetichists but with neurotics who, simply because of the non-gratification of their

sexual impulses, commit a symbolic (forbidden) act. [A word of caution will not be out of place here: a person may be married and indulge in coitus and yet not gratify his sexual impulses. Men and women who, as a result of financial, social, or other considerations, practice coitus condomatus or coitus interruptus, rarely get that relief which is the essence of freedom from sex hunger or sexual toxemia. These unnatural, tho almost universal, practices usually beget an almost overwhelming and ever-present craving for adequate relief. So too persons who are consciously or unconsciously inverted or perverted, or who for other reasons, do not enjoy 'normal' coitus, do not gratify their libido by heterosexual intercourse.—S. A. T.]

A woman about 45 years old, well built, still handsome and attractive, is about to escort her four daughters to a ball. Just before leaving the house she is subjected to great excitement. Her husband carelessly holds his burning cigar against her petticoat. It burns a hole into the thin material which begins to glow. She reproaches him severely.

She goes to the ball, toward midnight a lady accuses her of having stolen her costly point-lace handkerchief. She insists that she found it; but this assertion is contradicted by several guests. Finally the matter is amicably disposed of. Following this occurrence, the subject is afflicted with profound depression during which she is obstinately haunted by the following reproach: "I reproach myself for not having given my daughter away four years ago." The reason for her reproach lies in the fact that she could have given her daughter in marriage to a very wealthy man some four years before and that she had withheld her consent because "the child was too young."

If this were all, the matter would be quite logical. But behind this reproach there lurked another which our psycho-analysis brought to light.

The daughter, i.e., the little one, is a common symbol for the vagina. The subject is therefore reproaching herself for not having given herself, her body, away sooner, for having hitherto resisted temptation. For ten years past her husband had been impotent. She had always been very passionate. She did not lack wooers but did lack the courage to sin. Being very religious, she looked upon marriage as a sacred institution.

The day on which she committed the theft she had been very libidinous, as she usually was during her menstrual periods. The

burning cigar that had burnt a hole into her garment reminded her of the days when her husband was young and fiery. (Compare this with Krafft-Ebing's Observation 35, in which we are told of a young man, aged 29, who had an orgasm every time he scorched with his cigar the clothes of women who passed him in the street.)

She manifested great resistances to the analysis. In such cases I resort to a technical procedure that I have described in detail in my book "*Nervöse Angstzustände und deren Behandlung*" (1908). I ask the patient to rattle off the first series of words that come into her mind.

Complying with my request, she produced the following words: cigar—candle—confectionery store—rebirth—bootjack—electric car—Stein—lamp—flowers—box—violin—artist. I then asked her to tell me the first thought that occurred to her in connection with each one of these words. She produced the following sentences, the hidden significance of which I herewith indicate in parentheses. "The cigar is extinguished." (Her husband is impotent.) "The candle is burnt out." (Id.) "At the confectioner's one buys sweets." (She loves sweets and would like to experience forbidden sexual delights. 'Store' a frequent symbol for 'vagina.') "I would like to experience a rebirth." (She explained this as meaning that if she were reborn she'd be wiser than she had been in the past. This, it may be remarked, is a typical thought in elderly women most of whom mean thereby that if there is any one thing that they especially regret it is the fact that they had not been sufficiently frivolous.) "The bootjack is a disgusting instrument." (Her husband used a bootjack!) "I love to ride in an electric car; it consists of two cars." "Criminals are sent to Stein." (Stein is the name of a prison near Vienna.) "The lamp is still burning." (Lamp is a common symbol for vagina.) "I love to pluck flowers." "No one pays any attention to an old box." [Box is one of the commonest symbols for the female genitalia.] "I love to hear the violin." [Playing the violin=coitus.] "But it must be played by an artist." And then I learned that her last admirer had been a violinist and that there had been a little flirtation; but she had been sensible enough not to be inveigled into an indiscretion.

There was one symptom during her depression that deserves further elucidation. She thought herself impoverished and became very economical although there was but very little justification

for this in fact. And she never stopped speaking of opening a "new business" and earning money. Even this [neurotic] desire had a secret sexual significance. She wanted to make money out of her good looks. It was the typical "prostitution fantasy" that is so common among neurotic women. In this way all of her symptoms easily proved to be the expression of subterranean, repressed motives. The theft was a trivial crime to the commission of which there were only slight resistances. It was a symbolic equivalent of a fall, and yet a fall of such a nature that notwithstanding it she retained her sexual purity.

Knowledge of sexual symbolism furnishes the key to an understanding of kleptomania,—perhaps, it may be said, of all monomanias. Before I communicate other examples from my own experience I shall analyse a few of the observations of others.

Didier (*Kleptomanie und Hypnotherapie*, Halle a. S. 1896) reports a boy who up to his fifteenth year had been a fine and studious pupil. Then he suddenly became lazy, apathetic and stupid. (Such a transformation usually occurs when the sexual impulses become overpowering but find no relief.) The boy committed several thefts. Even at the age of four (the first period of sexual excitation) he had stolen some things. Recently he had broken into the teacher's closet. He was completely cured by hypnotherapy. Didier correctly enough attributes the kleptomania to a hysterical condition. The understanding of these hysterical symptoms we owe to the genius of Freud. We know now the intimate connection existing between these symptoms and the unconscious psychic life. The symptom is a hysterical, symbolic action. 'Breaking into a closet' was the symbolic equivalent of a defloration. ['Closet' often means 'vagina.']

A married woman, aged 36, lives in almost permanent sexual abstinence owing to her husband's business which often takes him away from her. For several years she has suffered from nightly crises. She is seized with a vague unrest and becomes very irritable. She has attacks of *pavor nocturnus* [night terrors], jumps out of bed, opens and locks the doors, screams, runs as if she were being pursued—and does not fall asleep again till it is almost morning. For the last two years she has suffered from dizziness [giddiness]. (The significance of dizziness ["Schwindel" in German] and of locking the door is fully set forth in my book, "Nervöse Angstzustände," 1912) [Hysterical dizziness is often the neurotic's way of saying to himself that he is in danger of falling into dishonesty]

or disrespectability. It is perhaps because of the element of self-deception implied in one's struggle with the temptation to "go wrong" and thus betray the marital partner's confidence that the German word for 'dizziness' is the same as for 'cheating.' Something like this is probably behind our use of the word 'giddy' for 'frivolous' and 'dizzy,' and it is not uninteresting to note in this connection that the word 'dizzy' is still occasionally used for 'giddy.' The dizziness is a conversion symptom and expresses the subject's vacillation, inclination to 'fall.' I have frequently noted that in hysterical dizziness the tendency is to fall to the left side or that the head seems to whirl from right to left. 'Left' is symbolic of 'wrong,' 'sinful.'—In a woman a neurotic impulse to lock the door is the symbolic expression of her desire to secure herself against temptation, 'door' being an obvious symbol for 'vagina.'—S. A. T.] One day she was caught in a store stealing some trifles, among them two pieces of point-lace, a pair of gloves and a little notebook. The 'book' clearly betrays a prostitution instinct. (In certain countries a woman "takes out a book" when she joins the ranks of licensed prostitutes.)

A twenty-six year old girl, living in abstinence, steals lead pencils in a store. Her mind is not clear and she is wholly unfit for any work. Her excuse is that her father has 'kept her too strictly.' This girl too is symbolically pursuing the phallus (pencil).

Most of these cases of kleptomania, like all neurotics, show evidence of a strongly repressed homosexual component. This homosexual trait is strikingly in evidence in the following case (reported by Dr. Chlumsky, *Vierteljahrsschrift f. gerichtliche Medizin*, 1892, vol. 4) of "theft in a case of acquired feeble-mindedness."

A servantgirl who suffers from violent excitement during her menstrual periods is compelled to sleep in the same room with the housekeeper. She importunes the mistress to let her sleep alone in the anteroom because she gets 'so hot' in the other room. On two different nights she had such very exciting dreams that she fell (!) out of bed. She stole a small musical box (!) from a chest belonging to her mistress and played with it in secret. (A clear homosexual desire to play with her mistress's genitalia!) She laid her own skirts, jackets, and waists in an unused bed belonging to the housekeeper. She is extremely forgetful, dazed and always lost in daydreams. One night she took the key from

under her mistress's pillow, opened a drawer, broke a pane of glass and then said that two men had broken into the house and choked her. [The feigned assault symbolises coitus.]—Not long ago the Viennese newspapers reported the strange history of a wealthy lady who had to defend herself before the bar against the charge of having stolen several linen sheets in a public bath. She had been caught in the act of concealing a sheet in a pair of drawers specially improvised for the purpose. Numerous stolen sheets were found in her home. On all of these a new patch marked the site where the original owner's monogram had been. The sexual significance of these thefts is clear from the manner and location of the concealment of the stolen objects.

In all these cases we are dealing with sexually excited and ungratified women who lacked either the courage or the opportunity for sexual gratification. The theft is the forbidden act which they finally had to commit. The misdeed is the result of the displacement of the affect from the sexual sphere into the criminal.

The very frequent occurrence of thievery in childhood has a striking explanation. As is well known, many children steal. All the cases known to me were children who had been sexually aroused very early in life and whose desires were too early directed upon forbidden matters. Unfortunately, all too little is generally known about the sexual life of children. Physicians and pedagogues ought to be instructed on the subject. In the first years of childhood the sexual excitation of the little ones manifests itself in sudden bashfulness, blushing, stuttering, night terrors, various apprehensions, vomiting, diarrhea, sucking [the tongue, thumb, etc.], blinking, facial grimaces, bed-wetting, outbursts of temper, sleeplessness, endless questioning, brooding, and irritability and restlessness which may take the shape of mild choreic twitchings.

Older children about the age of puberty become strikingly confused, incapable of mental concentration, inattentive at school and at home and sheepish; their schoolwork suddenly becomes very poor. They are very apt to shun society, become timid and blush easily.

At this stage there is very likely to occur now and then a symbolic action of such a nature as to give the adolescent a bad character. More than one child that has been expelled from school for stealing was driven to the crime by an unconscious sexual motive,—and was not hindered from developing subsequently a spotless character. And there can't be much doubt that a harsh judgment at this

time has driven some children into a career of crime. It is high time that physicians and teachers paid more attention to these manifestations of infantile sexuality. (Interesting observations on this subject will be found in my book, "*Nervöse Angstzustände*, 2d edition, 1912, Chapter XVI, "Apprehension Neurosis in Childhood.")

The impulse to steal is exceedingly common in children. Many of these children grow into men who are distinguished for their painful scrupulousness. So many of our virtues owe their origin to an overcompensation for a repressed forbidden impulse! All children guilty of compulsive larceny are sexually precocious and most of these thefts betray a sub-conscious sexual symbolism.

A highly intellectual and extremely moral painter who is now under my professional care had been guilty of larceny several times in his life. On the first occasion he stole the servantgirl's gold watch, sold it and hilariously squandered the proceeds in one day. Our psycho-analysis proved that he had been very unwisely brought up by his parents. For years he had been in a position whence he could observe his parents in coitu and even witness certain sexual perversions. One evening he noticed that his father kissed the housemaid. He was then only twelve years old but already passionately addicted to masturbation [which fortunately did not harm his mental development]. Once his attention had been drawn to this clandestine affair in his home, he did not fail to notice that his father availed himself of every opportunity to be alone with the beautiful and charming maid. One evening, after they had locked themselves in the father's room, the youngster made a hurried search in the girl's trunk, found there the gold watch and quickly ran out of the house with it. The motives for his theft were several. He was in a rage with the girl and jealous of his father—and he took possession of her watch (a symbol for the female genitalia).

The girl was in despair when she discovered her loss. The sight of her pain caused him some regret, but at the same time he felt a sadistic pleasure at the thought that he was in a position to make her feel his power and cause her to suffer.

After he had reached maturity he had occasion to visit a married friend whose wife made a very favorable impression on him. On his departure he noticed in the anteroom a sea-shell. Hurriedly he thrust it in his pocket and hastened away. At home he looked at it for hours, touched it, handled it lovingly—and then gave it

to a little girl in the street. (The sea-shell has the same symbolic significance as the watch and the leather case which was the object of his third theft.) Under similar circumstances he stole an opera-glass because of its very fascinating leather case. The lady, whose husband was a pupil of his, had such wonderful opera-glasses [also eyes]!

The stealing of watches so often has a pathological, monomaniacal character that it is a matter of great wonder to me that psychiatrists did not long ago hit upon the almost self-evident connection between the wrongdoing and the sexual life.

Sommer, for example, reports an interesting case of a boy suffering from "moderate general feeble-mindedness" (*Diagnostik der Geistesschwachheiten*, Vienna, 1901) who ever since childhood showed a striking predilection for watches. The patient was afflicted with various obsessive actions, one of which frequently brought him in conflict with the law: he loved to steal watches. All his thoughts seemed to centre around watches, which he loved to handle, look at from different angles, put to his ear, etc.

Another one of my patients who had been guilty of kleptomania was a very estimable man of fine intellect and very philanthropic. Often during his childhood he had stolen all sorts of wholly worthless objects, not because he wanted them but because of an irresistible impulse, e.g., a piece of soap, because of the picture of a beautiful female on the paper wrapper; a glove belonging to a lady who visited his mother; out of his father's pocket money which he presented to a boy; books from his sister's library; a loaf of bread which he stole from a bakery and which he gave to a beggar. All these thefts occurred between his sixth and tenth years. Then came a period of great piety. He regretted his sins and resolved to become a good, honest and upright man,—a resolution which, with the exception of a few erotic slips, he carried out.

But once he had a serious relapse and it was this that brought him to me for treatment. He had made the acquaintance of a servantgirl and had fallen passionately in love with her. But he had had such disappointing experiences that he was afraid to trust his instincts again. Besides, he had made his wife a sacred promise—never again to break his bed-vow. One Sunday he made a rendezvous with the girl. He was to meet her at an appointed place and then they were to go off on a little trip. After a long conflict with temptation he suddenly decided not to keep his appointment

and instead to hasten to his wife at her country-place. Accordingly he went to the railway station. There was no one in the ticket-office, but on the window-shelf lay a small purse. An irresistible impulse seized him; he snatched the purse and quickly thrust it in his pocket. Then he hurried into the privy, transferred the contents of the purse into his pocketbook and threw the purse into the toilet. From a slip of paper in the purse he learned that it was the property of a servantgirl. In a dazed condition he wandered back into the waiting-room and saw a servantgirl speaking to a policeman and apparently searching for something. He was wholly unmoved. Next day, however, he regretted the occurrence, felt himself greatly humiliated and was anxious to make amends for the wickedness he had been guilty of. He scanned the 'lost and found' columns in the papers and even advertised in various newspapers as having found a purse. In vain! He could not find the girl. This experience ushered in a bad attack of depression. It surely is unnecessary now to translate the occurrence as a symbolic expression of his repressed desires and ideas. It seems to me that the meaning ought to be evident even to those readers who have not the pleasure of an acquaintance with Freud's brilliant elucidation of the workings of the unconscious mind.

From these cases we see the tremendous significance of the sexual impulses in the development of kleptomania. I could easily adduce observations of similar import to explain the occurrence of *pyromania*, the passion to kindle fires, and of *hydromania*, the delight in playing with water. [Vesical erotism, as Sadger has shown, probably plays an important rôle in the latter neurosis, if not also in the former.—S. A. T.]

I regard it as one of my most important duties at some future time to find an avenue to the psychology of the criminal from this mode of approach. [As a striking confirmation of Stekel's generalisation, Mr. A. Albrecht reports ("*Zur Psychologie der Kleptomanie*," *Zentralblatt f. Psychoanalyse*, etc., May, 1913) the case of a Methodist minister, of Westfield, Mass., who had been arrested for stealing a 'manicuring box' (!) in a store. In his defence he said that the night before the theft he could not sleep and had taken five sleeping powders and that as a result of this he was in a dazed condition when he entered the store. Albrecht points out that the man was 50 years old and his wife much older; relative sexual abstinence may therefore safely be predicated in this case. It is unquestionably also of interest to note that the minister was

very active in the temperance movement,—probably as a protection against his own repressed wishes which might break out if he permitted himself to indulge in spirituous drinks (which, as we know, have the effect of destroying the inhibitions).

Dr. F. Riklin (*Zentralblatt f. Psychoanalyse*, 1911) also confirms Stekel's deduction and cites a case that came under his own observation. A married woman suffering from dementia precox stole a sausage, cigars and a baby's drawers. From her associations it was certain that sausages and cigars were phallic symbols. She was very anxious to have a child but her husband would not hear of it. One night she dreamt of sexual relations with another man. In the morning she reproached herself for having had such a wicked dream and resolved she would never indulge in forbidden pleasures. That day she stole the above objects and masturbated with their aid; so that, notwithstanding her resolution, she was indulging in forbidden pleasures and that too with symbolic substitutes for the phallus. The children's pantalets are a symbol for a child and their theft momentarily satisfies her longing for a baby.

We cannot refrain from quoting the following very interesting paragraph from Riklin (*id.*, p. 199): "I knew a young neurotic kleptomaniac who, every time he felt an imperative desire to indulge in forbidden love, stole money from his relatives. He was sure that they would discover the theft and not prosecute him. The substituted wrong satisfied the desire to have something happen, that was forbidden and as a result of its discovery he was protected against temptation for some time thereafter. He could now make himself all sorts of reproaches, humble himself before his father, and castigate himself by forswearing pleasures and bad company for a time. He thus withdrew from the danger of frequenting cafés at night with frivolous companions and of having his desire for women aroused."

In full accord with the foregoing observers, Oscar Pfister (*Die psychanalytische Methode*, 1913, pp. 71-72) epitomises the analysis of two cases of kleptomania, one of which we reproduce because it shows that the purloined object is not merely a phallic symbol but that it may be put to a symbolic use: A 17 year old lad, apprenticed in a bicycle shop, feels an irresistible impulse to steal a rubber tire although he is not the owner of a bicycle and must know that his offence will be discovered. After a long struggle he succumbs. He steals the tube, plays with it for a

few minutes in great excitement—and then loses interest in it and presents it to a comrade. He was discharged for what he had done. He overwhelms himself with reproaches and looks upon himself as a born criminal because he could not resist the impulse to commit a crime and because he had once caught his father in a dishonest action. The young offender had repressed the habit of masturbation; having stolen the tube, the symbolic phantom, he gratified his repressed impulse with its aid.

That these observations do not exhaust the subject of kleptomania is evident from the following incident: A patient of mine, M. L., almost completely cured of a mixed neurosis, sitting in my office, suddenly felt an overpowering desire to steal from my desk a pamphlet that has no money value and deals with a literary subject he has no interest in. In tears he explains his compulsive act: "I have no friends, no one to talk to; at home they are afraid to talk to me and think me queer; you are the only one I could call a friend but you are so much above me (Transference! he identifies me with his father.) that friendship between us is out of the question; if you didn't have your books and your learning we'd be more nearly on the same level; that's why I wanted to steal your pamphlet." His impulse to steal the pamphlet was the expression of his hatred and jealousy of me as well as of his (homosexual) love. If he could bring me down to his level he could have my love,—the lover's customary overvaluation of the beloved.

In conclusion it may be mentioned that though the kleptomaniac is not insane, it is as unjust to punish him for his misdeed as it is to punish the lunatic for a crime he may commit. So too there is no greater absurdity than to inflict corporal punishment on a child for doing something against his will, as is the case in kleptomania, pyromania, pseudologia, etc. The proper thing to do in all these cases of compulsive misdeeds is to free the culprit from the thrall of his unconscious by submitting him to psycho-analytic treatment.—S. A. T.]

3681 Broadway.

PHALLIC SYMBOLISM.

By the Rev. A. E. WHATHAM.

INTRODUCTION.

PERHAPS no subject has received more inadequate treatment, or has been more misunderstood when treated, than Phallicism, otherwise the worship of the male and female organs of generation as together representing the divine principle of creation—sex. Says Dr. Peters: —“The world over the penis and vulva appear as religious emblems” (*Nippur*, Vol. II, p. 349). To treat this subject, Phallicism, in its various ramifications, as it is the origin of a multitude of symbols whose real significance seems to be entirely unknown even to those students of religion who might be thought to understand something about it, is the object of this present thesis.

Phallicism (G-Phallos, Kteis; L-Penis, vulva; H-Lingam; Yoni) seems to have been the earliest of all systemized religions. With the Egyptians, Min, the god of life in its fullest sense of reproduction, is shown ithyphallic (*Petrie—His. of Egypt*, Vol. III, p. 333). With the Babylonians, while no definite ithyphallic god, such as Min, has as yet been discovered, there is abundant evidence to show, as will be seen presently, that these people were phallic worshippers. As for the Hebrews, the very fact that there existed among them an “oath of god,” that is, an oath taken, as it were, in the very presence of god by the swearer laying his hand on the phallus of the one to whom the oath was taken (*Gen. 24. 2, 3; I Chron. 29. 24; cf. Eccle. 8. 2; Thigh-HDB*), is ample evidence in itself to show that they were phallic worshippers. With the Greeks, as with the Babylonians, the phallus was the symbol of the resurrection; while with the Romans it was actually pictured as an object of worship.

Notwithstanding that in the brief intimation just given we see how important is the study of phallicism, it is, nevertheless, strange to say, a subject practically entirely lacking any special recognition even amongst scholars. The *Ency. Brit.* (XIth ed.), dismisses it with half a column; a much longer article (*Phallicism*), in the *Ency. Relig. and Ethics* might just as well not have been written, as it gives no help to the understanding of the numerous phallic symbols, or indeed to the full understanding of the world-wide phallic worship. When we turn to the latest of the modern Biblical Commentaries on Genesis (*Skinner-ICC*),

we not only find an absence of any definite treatment of phallic worship, but in specific cases such treatment was absolutely demanded by the undoubted phallic significance intimated in the record, it is absolutely denied that there is any such significance (p.71). In a letter written to us on this subject in Dec., 1910, Dr. Skinner, replying to our assertion previously made that the serpent was a phallic symbol, asked,—“What proof have you that...the serpent is especially associated with sex-worship? All I know is that the serpent is almost universally a sacred animal; and if there is any phase of primitive religion with which it is more closely associated than another, I should have said it is the worship of dead.”

When we read the foregoing we were simply amazed, since the very fact that the serpent in primitive religion is associated with the worship of the dead proves that it *is* a symbol. Prof. G. Murray tells us that the stone symbolical of Hermes which was set over a tomb, “is the power which generates new lives” (*Four Stages of Greek Religion*, p. 74), and Prof. Jeremias reminds us that Bacchus planted a phallus at the door of Hades (*The OT in the Light of the Ancient East*, Vol. I, p. 122). When, therefore, we read in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, that the deceased shall rise as the phallus of Osiris rose, this member being actually depicted as the first part of the dead Osiris to come to life (pp. 95, 182; *The Gods of the Egyptians*, Vol. II, pp. 131-138), we see that the phallus was a well-known symbol of life, especially of renewed life, as this appears in the resurrection of the dead.

Now exactly as the phallus was associated with the dead as the symbol of resurrection, equally so was the serpent similarly associated. But why? Was it because the serpent “throws off his old skin and renews himself,” as the old scholastic assumed? This is the explanation accepted by modern writers (*Murray-ib*, p. 33), and this, indeed, may have been one reason, since in the Book of the Dead the serpent goddess is made to say, “I am the Serpent Sata...I am born again, I renew myself, and I grow young each day” (*ib*, p. 278). We venture to think, however, even if this was a reason, which may be doubtful, it certainly is not the primary reason why the serpent was chosen as a symbol of life.

In the anonymous work, *Ophiolatrea*, a brief but extremely

valuable treatise on the subject of the title, we are told that serpent-worship, "next to the adoration of the phallus, is one of the most remarkable, and, at first sight, unaccountable forms of religion the world has ever known" (p. i).

Notwithstanding that many eminent writers adopt the same view of the origin of serpent-worship, it nevertheless seems to us to be one of the most easy to solve of all the problems connected with primitive religion.

There exists a Babylonian-Assyrian seal cylinder which exhibits a female palm-tree on either side of which is seated a person whose exact character it is difficult to tell. Behind the one on the left there is a serpent standing erect on its tail. Prof. Skinner rejects the picture as representing the temptation recorded in Gen. III, but he fails to explain its significance. Dr. Peters, in his "*Early Hebrew Story*," mentions this seal, and while he too rejects it as a Babylonian description of the Biblical temptation, he also fails to explain it. Unfortunately he added: "Whether there is any relation to Babylonian thought in the part which the serpent plays in the Eden story, is not clear" (p. 228f). We use the expression *unfortunately* because it appears to us *perfectly* clear that there *is* a direct reference to Babylonian thought in the part the serpent plays in the Eden story. In other words, we see a definite connection between this said seal and the story of the temptation narrated in Gen. III, a connection, however, which can only be explained on the basis of phallic worship.

This Babylonian seal depicts a god showing a mortal the principle venerated by the Babylonian-Assyrians in their tree worship, the principle of fertility. By these people the religious ceremony of fertilizing the palm-tree, a scene depicted on numerous seals, was regarded as "illustrating fertility and blessings in general" (*Jastrow, Bab.-Assyr. Relig.*, p. 662). Now, the serpent on the said seal is the male symbol of fertility, the tree being the female symbol. In the Eden story, therefore, the serpent bears the same relation to fertility as this serpent on the seal we are considering. Of course our explanation depends for its accuracy upon whether a serpent *was* a phallic symbol, and as such recognized by the Babylonian-Assyrians. This we are about to prove in the following thesis, where we intend to discuss the origin of numerous other symbols which we shall endeavor to show have as clear a phallic origin as the serpent itself.

I.

THE PHALLUS.

That the phallus or male organ of generation, living or imaged, was once revered as an object of worship has already been definitely shown in the example given in our Introduction where we cited the "oath of God" as made to Abraham and Solomon. Strange to say there still exist people who "swear by God's phallus" (S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, p. 113), for God was once viewed by all Israelites as possessing a human body with human organs and functions. Indeed, God was so viewed by the Hebrews down to and including the reign of Solomon if not to a much later period (*Israel*, HDBs, p. 412, sec. 4). In Rome until Constantine enforced Christianity as the state religion, the phallus was drawn on a cart surrounded by women and in this manner taken to the temple of Venus and presented to the symbolized sex parts of this goddess (Westropp, *Primitive Symbolism*, p. 30). When we add the foregoing to what we have already said in our Introduction, there is surely no room left for doubt that the image of the phallus was of itself used as an object of worship; there is no need, therefore, to produce further evidence to this end.

II.

THE SERPENT.

The well known student of sex-worship, Mr. C. S. Wake, wrote:—"So far as I can make out, the serpent symbol has not a direct phallic reference. . . . The idea most intimately connected with this animal was that of life, not present merely, but continued, and probably everlasting" (*Ophiolatrea*, p. 10). This opinion is that adopted by most modern scholars, the view of Cox, that "The symbol of the phallus suggested the form of the serpent, which thus becomes the emblem of life and healing" (*The Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, p. 353), finding few advocates. Despite, however, the fact that the consensus of modern scholarship, so far as it treats this subject, favors the view of Wake, we shall endeavor to prove that Cox was right, and the said scholars wrong.

We said that the serpent on the so-called Babylonian "Adam and Eve" seal cylinder represents the male symbol of fertility. This we shall clearly show, but first we must call attention to the strange comment of Prof. Skinner on the appearance of the form of the serpent on this seal. He says: "The crooked line on the

left of the picture is supposed to exhibit the serpent" (ib. p. 91). Now had Dr. Skinner made a special study of the serpent as it appears on Babylonian seals, he would never have written that sentence, since, even if on the seal in question his "crooked line" does not seem to him to sufficiently determine whether it represents a serpent or not, this same "crooked line" as it appears on other seals is so palpably significant of a serpent that by these the serpent on the "Adam and Eve" seal would have been established as a fact beyond question.

On a seal reproduced by Jeremias we see the Babylonian-Assyrian mother-goddess Ishtar standing before the moon-god, Sin. She holds in her hand her star-crowned staff, while in front of her, facing Sin, is a serpent, and between the serpent and the goddess two signs of life, that is, reproductive life (*The OT in the Light of the Ancient East*, Vol. I, p. 109; Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 659). Jeremias explains the said two signs, with another similar sign behind Sin, as "the symbol of Marduk repeated three times." But these signs have nothing whatever to do with Marduk, being, as Dr. Barton shows, significant of life in its reproductive character. He thinks that the sign originated in "the distorted picture of a tent, and so came to possess the idea of living, as naturally springing from the tent itself." He adds, however, that other scholars see in this sign the serpent "as a symbol of the sexual passion (*Babylonian Writing*, Pt. I, p. 18; Pt. II, 39f). Unfortunately Barton rejects this last for his first explanation. We say, *unfortunately*, because there is abundant evidence to show that Jastrow's acceptance of the view of the Rabbis that the serpent in the Eden story signified sexual passion was fully warranted (*AJSL*, July, 1899, Vol. XV, p. 209; *Semitic Origins*, p. 93). However, the main point is that Barton rightly sees in the sign we are considering the symbol of life in its fulness, that is to say, as we have interpreted it, *reproductive* life. Other seals which show this serpent form may be similarly interpreted, but we feel that we have said enough to prove that on the seal in question the so-called "crooked line" is a good representation of a serpent.

With the above evidence in mind we now turn to the consideration of the serpent as the symbol of "sexual passion," or, in other words, as significant of the phallus as the symbol of reproductive life.

On the dragon Tiamat, as shown on a Babylonian tablet, the head of the phallus is drawn to represent a serpent (Ward,

Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, pp. 197, 199; Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 541; Davis, *Genesis and Semitic Tradition*, p. 4). Ward notes the presence of the phallus with the head of a serpent, but offers no explanation; Maspero and Davis show the serpent-phallus in their reproductions of Tiamat but make no reference to it. Trumbull says:—"In the representation of Nergal, the lord of the under world, in the Ancient Babylonian mythology, the phallus and the serpent were identical." In a note at the bottom of the page he refers to Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, Vol. I, p. 349f, and to Layard's *Monuments*, Series ii, pl. 5, adding:—"The serpent is there shown on the feminine Tiamat, where it appears on the masculine Nergal" (*The Threshold Covenant*, p. 235).

All authorities are agreed, therefore, that a serpent-penis does appear on the figure of what is accepted as the female dragon Tiamat, and the question has to be settled—why? Its appearance on Nergal is, of course, more natural, singular as even this is, but why should it appear on a female animal?

Writing some years ago to Dr. Ward on this point, we mentioned the possibility that Tiamat is here represented as invaginated by a serpent, only, however, to doubt that this was the correct explanation. It is true that female idols from New Guinea, where local traditions connect woman and the serpent sexually, show a female invaginated by a serpent-like creature (Havelock Ellis, *The Psychology of Sex*, Vol. II, p. 234), yet, as intimated, we doubted and still doubt that this is the explanation in the present instance. Ward, as stated, equally rejecting this assumption, added:—"I think it more likely that the Dragon was also, in some versions, regarded as masculine."

We believe that this last is the true explanation, and yet Ward did not enter into particulars beyond what we have quoted from his communication, it is, therefore, left to us to give this. An earlier combat than that between Marduk and Tiamat shows a god fighting with a mighty serpent which endeavors to crawl rapidly away. The Babylonian story of creation is, therefore, of a mixed character, finally representing a serpent-dragon as the animal defeated by Marduk, the dragon represents Tiamat, and her phallus the serpent (Jeremias, *ib.* Vol. I, p. 151, fig. 57).

It is important here to bear in mind that the Babylonian creation story begins with the existence of two beings, Apsu and Tiamat, male and female, representing the primeval waters massed

together as in an embrace, according to the manner of thinking natural to the Babylonians. For the Babylonian theologians, says Jastrow, "This massing together of the primeval waters. . . . this embrace of Apsu and Tiamat becomes a symbol of sexual union" (*BAR*, p. 412).

Here, then, is the explanation of the representation of the female dragon Tiamat with the serpent-penis, it is in these features a combination of Tiamat and Apsu. But why this combination in the manner represented? The same question exactly with little difference may be asked in the case of the serpent-penis on Nergal (Maspero, *ib.*, pp. 690, 691). Why should a serpent-penis appear on either of these animals? The answer is of course, only and solely, that given by Trumbull, that in the ancient Babylonian mythology, the phallus and the serpent were identical.

The explanation just given, as it confirms Jastrow's remark concerning the idea of sexual union as seen by the Babylonian priests in the supposed embrace of the primeval waters, entirely does away with Ward's statement that in Babylonian art, "we never see any display of phallicism." The fact is that we practically see nothing else than phallicism in Babylonian art, as will be fully confirmed presently. The evidence now given is of course the most direct that can be offered for the contention that the Babylonian-Assyrians were phallic worshippers, but even should it ever be proved, which is hardly likely, that the supposed serpent-penis as it appears both on Tiamat and Nergal is not a serpent-penis, there is yet ample indirect evidence that the Egyptians, Babylonian-Assyrians, Hebrews, Greeks and Romans, phallicism was, and continued to the last to be, the national religion of these respective peoples.

III.

THE SERPENT AND THE WOMAN.

Trumbull tells us that the goddess, Beltis-Allat, the consort of Nergal, is shown holding a serpent in either hand (*ib.*, p. 235). In describing this goddess in the figure referred to by Trumbull, Jastrow says that she "has her two arms extended, in the act of strangling a serpent (*ib.*, p. 580). But this is a mistake, since first she holds not one, but two serpents, nor is she engaged in strangling them, for, to quote Maspero,—“She brandishes in each hand a large serpent.” When, however, he adds, “a real animated javelin, whose poisonous bite inflicts a fatal wound upon the enemy” (*ib.*, pp. 690, 692), it seems to us that in this bald

statement he somewhat overstates the actual truth of the matter, for, unless we are very much mistaken, Allat holds the serpents for two reasons, the neglect to mention both destroying the actual significance of either.

From the first man viewed the serpent from two standpoints, one of dread, and one of delight, for to him the serpent had originally been and continued to be viewed as a creature which could both destroy and impart life. There are many examples which might be given of both of these views, such as the serpent made by Isis to destroy the aged-god Ra, and the statement in the Book of the Dead of the serpent goddess Sata, supposed to be uttered by the deceased in proof of his resurrection:—"I am the serpent Sata whose years are many. I die and am born again each day. . . . I die, and am born again, and I renew myself, and I grow young each day" (Budge, BD., p. 278). But perhaps the best illustration is the well known incident of the death of the Israelites by the bite of a serpent and the restoration of the dying to health by their gazing at the brazen serpent, recorded as having been put on a pole and placed in their sight by Moses (*Num.* 21, 4-9). The usual explanation of this incident is that we here have an example of "a wide-spread belief that the image of a hurtful thing drives the evil away (*Brazen Serpent*, HDBs, p. 837).

This last is the explanation offered by Frazer in discussing the belief in "the relation between wounded man and agent of the wound" (*The Golden Bough*, Vol. I, p. 56; cf. III, p. 427; Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology*, p. 39). Now we do not for one moment desire to deny that in this "Brazen Serpent" episode the well understood principle of "sympathetic magic" played its part, but we do positively affirm that here also was another principle playing *its* part, the principle of sex which formed the basis of phallic worship.

We have seen, under the discussion of the serpent as a phallic symbol, that there is abundant evidence for viewing the ritual use of the serpent as expressing just such phallic significance, a significance which we are attempting to prove as the principal reason for the worship of the serpent.

Sayce tells us that "The symbol of royalty adopted by the earliest Pharaohs was the cobra, it symbolized the irresistible might and deadly power of the conquering chieftain, which, like the dreaded cobra of the desert, overcame inhabitants of the

country" (*Gifford Lectures*, p. 210). That the serpent worn by the Pharaohs, and other dignitaries, such as queens and princesses, on the headgear just above the face (Petric, *History of Egypt*, Vol. II, pp. 63, 77, 80), signified power is true, yet not merely the power of death, but also of life, phallic life, which, indeed, was the prime significance of the serpent as worn by Egyptian royalty. So far as the Egyptian kings are concerned we shall deal with them under their own section, here we must confine ourselves to the serpent as associated with women.

The earliest form of a foreign mother-goddess as worshipped by the Egyptians was the tutelar goddess of Kadesh, the capital of Cheta, otherwise northern Syria. She is shown standing on a lion and carrying in the right hand three lotus buds which she holds by a coil of their long stems, in her left hand she holds sometimes two serpents, at other times only one. Some of her representations show her nude, and it is here that she holds one serpent (Ohnefalsch Richter, *Text*, pp. 74, 75; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 158), although sometimes she holds two serpents when nude (Layrd, *Nineveh and its Remains*, Vol. II, p. 168f). As clothed with a skin-tight garment and wearing the head-dress of Hathor, she carries two serpents in the left hand (Budge, *GE*, Vol. II, p. 276f). Budge says:—"Qetesh must have been worshipped as a nature goddess," and he cites Gen. 38.211, 22; Deu. 23.-18; Num. 25.1 and Hos. 4.14, where the Hebrew of the Anglicised prostitute and harlot (RV) is kadeshah, which means a sacred prostitute. Qetesh or Kadesh was not the original Syrian or Hittite name of this goddess, but Atargatis, whose chief center of worship in Syria was Kadesh on the river Orentes, the word Kadesh meaning "the holy city" where sacred prostitution formed the chief feature of the worship as here practised (Wright, *The Empire of the Hittites*, pp. 73, 75).

Now the symbols as held by Qetesh illustrate her character as a mother-goddess of fertility for the lotus is a well known symbol of female fertility, to be hereafter fully proved; while the serpent is naturally the corresponding male symbol of fertility. The Cretan mother-goddess, older than Qetesh, is shown carrying a serpent in either hand (*Aegean Civilization*, Ency. Brit.); while in pre-Israelite Canaan, the Egyptianized mother-goddess carries a lotus bud and stem in either hand (Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palastine*, pls. 67, 70). As carried by mother-goddesses the serpent or serpents could in no sense whatever be viewed

as symbols of death, but rather exclusively as symbols of life.

Havelock Ellis quotes Ploss and Max Bartels as pointing out that the phenomenon of a woman's menstrual function has by many primitive peoples been ascribed to the fact that a snake "had bitten the sexual organs of a woman and so caused the phenomenon" (*Man and Woman*, p. 14).

In his later work already quoted Ellis asks:—"How has it happened that in all parts of the world the snake, or his congeners, the lizard and the crocodile, have been credited with some design sinister or erotic, on women" (Vol. II, p. 236). Now, Ellis never attempted to answer this question, although to us the answer is simple, since it appears to us quite obvious that, as Cox said long ago, the symbol of the phallus suggested the form of the serpent, which thus becomes the emblem of life and healing. After giving from all parts of the world many examples showing the universal association of a snake and a woman in sexual matters, Crawley says:—"The explanation has several times been hinted at, and is obvious when one considers the likeness in shape of the serpent, lizard, eel, and similar animals, to the male organ of generation" (*The Mystic Rose*, p. 193).

Now of course this explanation is obvious if one will only possess himself of the necessary information on the fact in question and give it full consideration. Indeed, so obvious was this explanation to the Jews that "In Rabbinical tradition the serpent is the symbol of sexual desire," and this led the Rabbis to think that in the Eden story "the serpent here represented the sexual passion" (Barton, *SO*, p. 93; *Midrash Rabba to Genesis*, sec. 20).

With all the evidence before us on the serpent and woman we can see why "at Rome the serpent was the symbol of fecundation, and often figures at Pompeii as the *genius patrisfamilias*, the generative power of the family" (Ellis, *ib.*, p. 238). It was the symbol of fecundation because of its likeness to the phallus, a conclusion irresistible in view of the overwhelming proof offered by us.

In our Introduction to this thesis we expressed our surprise at Prof. Skinner's limited knowledge of the Phallic symbolism of the serpent, and we did so because the information given here by us was just as accessible to him as to us. The same thing, however, may be said in the case of other eminent scholars who have denied that the Eden story is a sex story told in euphemistic language. Trumbull, Ellis, Crawley, and other scholars in similar work,

strict scientists as compared with biblical exegetes, recognise that the narrative in *Gen. III*, is a sex story euphemistically told, but not so these said exegetes, who, as in the case of Toy and Cheyne, including Skinner, deny that it is a sex story (*Traditions and Beliefs in Ancient Israel*, p. 81; *Genesis-ICC*, p. 71f).

We have elsewhere given what at the time appeared to us ample evidence that *Gen. III*, is a sex story (*The Amer. Jour. of Rel. Psy. and Ed.*, Aug., 1905, p. 295f), and it yet appears to us fully sufficient. Nevertheless, so eminent a scholar as Cheyne failed to be convinced by it. This scholar has now passed to "the great beyond," and we can only hope that before another of the eminent exegetes named lays down his pen for good, the evidence produced here by us that the serpent *was* a well understood phallic symbol, will be the cause of these scholars revising their opinion so that we may gain their help in maintaining the view that Genesis is a sex story euphemistically told. To this story we now directly turn our attention under the following two sections.

(To be continued.)

Translated for THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF UROLOGY AND SEXOLOGY.

THREE CASES OF PSEUDO-HERMAPHRODISM WITH REMARKS ON THE SOCIAL VIEWPOINT OF THE QUESTION.

BY LOUIS LE CONTELLEC, M.D.

MONTPELLIER, FRANCE.

IN each of the three cases of pseudo-hermaphrodisism here reported a mistaken diagnosis of the sex had been made. In the first, the subject was a female presenting an arrested development in the evolution of Müller's ducts. The remaining two cases are examples of typical perineal hypospadias.

CASE 1.—An individual, 30 years of age, exhibited himself in fairs, etc. Considered as belonging to the masculine sex he had been a mason in Spain, but at the time of his military service he had to submit to a medical examination, when his abnormal sexual state was revealed.

The subject was short, stout and muscular, of rather low intelligence. Face beardless, neck short and very muscular. Thorax broad and breasts well developed. Upper and lower limbs very muscular.

The mons veneris is not very hairy. Below it there were two well developed labia majora, thick and covered with hair on their external aspect. At their anterior commissure is a large clitoris covered by a distinct hood plainly similar to the glans covered by the prepuce and presenting a frænum on its lower aspect.

If the labia majora are spread apart a sinuous urethral groove is seen starting from behind the clitoris extending into the perineum and ending in a perineal cloaca from which urine comes. The borders of the groove are thin and projecting, and by uniting on the lower surface of the clitoris and continue with the hood.

The subject sits to urinate by the perineal orifice. A little blood also comes away monthly by this same orifice. Menstruation began at the age of thirteen years.

No evidence of testicles can be found either in the labia or inguinal folds. Nothing found per rectum.

CASE 2.—Subject 25 years old, applied for a certificate of hermaphroditism in order to exhibit himself at a fair. Certificate refused but an examination was made.

The subject was of medium height and dressed as a woman. Hair long, no beard, masculine voice. Neck short and thick. Chest well developed; breasts atrophied. Upper and lower limbs muscular.

Two lateral folds are seen, similar to two labia majora and both testicles can be felt at the inguinal rings. Penis and glans very large. Behind there is a urethral groove ending in a perineal meatus.

CASE 3.—Miss M., 24 years old, came for certificate to change her civil status. Quite tall and thin, the person wore a feminine costume in accordance with her civil status. Voice strong, gestures masculine. No beard. Upper limbs muscular. Chest broad, no development of breasts, only two rudimentary nipples. Pelvis high and narrow masculine type. Lower limbs have a feminine type.

Mons hairy; below a penis and on each side two cutaneous folds simulating labia majora. Penis has a well developed glans and presents on its under aspect the commencement of a urethral groove. It is partially covered by a long prepuce.

The urethral groove ends at the perineum in a cul-de-sac at the bottom of which is the meatus. The borders of the groove

are thin and broad and continue with the prepuce in its lowered part. Behind they are lost insensibly in the pseudo-labia majora. The passage of a bougie does not reveal any diverticulum.

On each side of the penis is a cutaneous fold extending behind to the perineum and covered with hair on the external aspect.

The testicles, situated at the inguinal rings fall into the cutaneous folds when the subject is erect.

Per rectum on each side of the urethra an oblongated body 3 centimeters long and about one centimeter broad can be felt, which we assumed to be the prostatic lobes. The patient can urinate in the erect posture. His sexual appetite is for women and he has both erection and ejaculation. The patient states that he has a young brother presenting the same anomalous condition which is an interesting fact. A certificate was given.

Pseudo-hermaphrodisim has frequently given rise to errors of sex and androgyni are not infrequently mistaken for females. Such mistakes may have serious consequences. A boy considered a female was placed in a boarding-school for girls where his conduct would have had serious consequences had he not been expelled.

Numerous also are cases in which a mistake in the sex due to pseudo-hermaphrodisim has resulted in nullifying marriage. And lastly, the psychism of these hermaphrodites must be seriously considered, particularly of those whose civil status carries an inexact sex.

Too often the pseudo-hermaphrodite is obliged to exercise the profession of a "what-is-it" in various shows. From infancy he is the butt of his little play-fellows who look upon him a curiosity and a subject for jokes. Later on for the same reason he can not procure work and at length he is engaged by some Barnum.

Are these beings who present these abnormal physical states normal from the moral viewpoint? The majority are weak-minded, others are mentally unbalanced, melancholy impulsives or maniacs. The majority of alienists have insisted on the part played by genital malformations in the development of mental disease. Rassegeau even goes so far as to consider hermaphrodites and all subjects having genital malformations as degenerates and believes they should be treated as such. Therefore, if they are degenerates they may become irresponsible impulsives.

Are there any certain signs by which one may determine to which sex a pseudo-hermaphrodite belongs? The development of

the breasts is a sign not to be neglected but still more important is menstruation although it is only a relative indication because a male pseudo-hermaphrodite may have a sufficiently developed uterus to give rise to slight menstrual hemorrhage. On the other hand, some females with or without genital malformations never offer a trace of menstrual flux. The only certain sign is the presence of spermatazoïds.

However, by a careful examination of the genital malformation most physicians are sufficiently enlightened to make a correct diagnosis of the sex and in cases of doubt the physician should inform the family and very carefully explain the exact situation.

Translated for THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF UROLOGY AND SEXOLOGY.

SYPHILIS TWO YEARS AFTER THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR.

BY PROF. GAUTHER.

(*Ann. d. Mal. Vén., Jan. 1917*)

Before the war there were, in round numbers: 300 fresh syphilitic cases amongst 3,000 patients treated in the clinic, *i. e.*, 1 out of 10.

During the first sixteen months of the war we had 800 syphilistics amongst 5,000 patients, *i. e.*, 1 out of 6.

During the following eight months our statistics showed a total of 600 syphilistics amongst 2,300 patients, *i. e.*, 1 out of 4.

Accordingly, whilst during the sixteen first months of the war (from August, 1914, to December, 1915) syphilis had increased more than a third, or nearly a half, in the eight following months (from January to August, 1916) it increased more than a half, or nearly two thirds.

Our actual statistics cover two years of the war and comprise a period extending from August 23rd, 1914, to August 23rd, 1916; during the first three weeks after the mobilization the wards of the clinic were closed by an arbitrary act of the hospital official and in spite of the protestations of the professor of the clinic. The progression of syphilis, ascertained in our service, and, besides in conformity with the observations which could be made by the consultation of the outpatients of the hospital of St. Louis, the importance and the form of which are known, were from 300 to 400 patients that were handled there every morning; the afternoon consultation, which before the war had been held daily, was suspended, which was very wrong, according to my

opinion. Whilst before the war there were, on the average, from 4 to 5 syphilitic chancres observed at the consultation of St. Louis, the actual proportion reaching every day about a dozen primary cases.

Now this is everywhere the same proportion and one comes to the really alarming conclusion to see that syphilis, in a general way, has increased more than a half, or almost two-thirds.

In this communication I do not want to reconsider all the details which one finds treated in my previous works where I dwelled particularly on the actual development of venereal diseases. I am going to discuss fresh cases of syphilis amongst civilians which we find continually in this class of patients, an unusual proportion of very young or aged men. It seems, indeed, that the very young and the very old fared very badly since the men of military age went to the front.

Age of civilians affected with fresh syphilis:

Under 20 years.....	37
From 20 to 30.....	138
“ 40 “ 49	28
“ 50 “ 59	14
Over 60 (64 and 66).....	2

219

I also observed something what I have never seen before: two cases of chancre of the vulva of little girls of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Amongst military persons—less numerous in our wards since—for clinical instruction—we had to hospitalize a certain number of civilians, men and women—amongst the military persons, I say, the youngest classes seemed to be proportionately less affected. The men between 25 and 35 furnish two-thirds of all the syphilitics.

Of 120 military patients showing primary or secondary symptoms of fresh syphilis, 42 were married and 78 single.

This large proportion of married men amongst our military syphilitics gives us an explanation of our saddening findings amongst our female patients. In fact, of 222 freshly infected women that were treated in our clinic, (from January 1st to August 31st, 1916, *i. e.*, for a period of hardly 8 months) 120 were lawfully married and 16 lived in a state which can be regarded as a regular marriage. Now then, nearly two-thirds of our female patients were married women. Granted that some of them caught the disease as the result of an escapade, which, however, is rarely admitted, 59 affirmed that they had been infected

by their husbands, 32 of the latter noticing the first symptoms of syphilis a few weeks after the departure of their husbands, who had been on furlough. Another, still more melancholy circumstance: 7 of our patients were pregnant!

Examining the age of our female patients, we find that nearly a third of them were past 30, which is contrary to all statistics relating to the age of syphilitic infection which, amongst the irregulars, takes place, as a rule, between 18 and 21.

Age of the women infected with fresh syphilis and treated in the clinic:

Under 20 years of age.....	46
From 20 to 29	108
“ 30 “ 39	43
“ 40 “ 49	21
“ 50 “ 55	4

222

Of course, I do not want to repeat here what I have said already before about the prevention of venereal diseases, of gonorrhea as well as of syphilis. If I treat nothing else than syphilis in this discussion, it is likewise necessary to emphasize the extraordinary actual frequency of gonorrhea, amongst men as well as women; the seriousness of a gonorrheal infection in a woman is well known and is aggravated by the fact that very few physicians know how to treat it.

I want to emphasize two points: firstly, the instruction to the public, particularly of military persons; secondly, the instruction of the physicians.

Venereal diseases are still considered as shameful diseases, which must not be recognized and of which one must not speak; it is necessary to combat this dangerous hypocrisy. The instruction of military persons as well as of civilians must be instituted. In regard to military persons an important step has been made during the last year. Nearly everywhere lectures on venereal diseases were given by hospital physicians as well as military doctors and even by private practitioners. Following my advice and in accordance with the instructions of Inspector Sieur, Director of the Health Department of the Military Government of Paris, Dr. Bizard, chief of the Clinic of St. Louis, has given 22 illustrated lectures which were attended by 8,000 men, belonging to the different army corps which are intrenched in the camp outside of Paris, and 5 lectures at the College of St. Cyr, before 1,500 cadets, that is to say, 27 lectures.

We certainly do not exaggerate when we say that we expect important results from these lectures. By questioning our military patients, we often find them completely ignorant about venereal diseases, the younger men as well as the older ones, but now, after they are well informed, we may hope, that in the future they will be able to protect themselves.

On the other hand, it is lamentable to find so many diagnostic errors which show that a great number of physicians are insufficiently informed in regard to syphilis and skin diseases. I will give only a few instances: A military man was treated four months, in several hospitals, for psoriasis which in reality was a papulous syphilitic eruption. In 15 days the patient was cured by the mercurial treatment.

Some months ago another military person presented an ulceration of the penis which was diagnosed as herpes and not treated. Four months afterwards, he was sent to us for alopecia pelada. The herpes was a syphilitic chancre which is still demonstrated by the scar and the characteristic adenopathy, and the alleged pelada was a secondary alopecia areata. During these four months the patient has had "herpes" again, he repeatedly suffered from the throat; this, however, did not prevent him from having intercourse with several women, for he did not know that he was sick.

A third military man was affected with a trouble of the throat the origin of which seemed so doubtful that six injections of biniodide of mercury were made. After the first injections the angina disappeared. The patient was told a continuation of the treatment was unnecessary, for, according to medical opinion, it was certain that he was not syphilitic. Sent on furlough and continuing to suffer from the throat he did not want to have intercourse with his wife before he had consulted a private practitioner. Also the latter denied the existence of syphilis. Subsequently the patient was for a whole week with his wife. On his return he consulted me at the hospital. I discovered mucous patches by which the whole throat was covered.

A fourth military man, discharged because of an ulcer on the leg, had been treated unsuccessfully with several local applications and finally was declared to be incurable. He came under our care as a civilian; in three weeks his ulcers were cured by the mixed treatment.

I could quote many more similar cases amongst our military

patients, but I will emphasize also the diagnostic errors, so serious in their consequences, which are committed in regard to female inmates of disorderly houses.

One day, while an inmate of a house in the province, one of these women noticed a small pimple on her upper lip which she showed to the visiting physician who declared that it was a fever pimple. The pimple enlarged accompanied by a big gland; yet, in spite of all that she continued in her "service" receiving daily from ten to fifteen visitors, most of them being military men. Feeling uneasy she came to Paris to consult me. Diagnosis: syphilitic chancre of the upper lip with the characteristic adenopathy and an incipient roseola.

Another woman was treated by me for secondary symptoms. After the disappearance of the symptoms she left the hospital and entered a "house" in a large city of the province. Of course, she did not treat herself any more but drank and smoked to excess. One day she told the visiting physician that she was suffering from an inflammation of the tonsils. He advised her to submit to an operation. Of course, the patient denied everything about the preceding syphilis. So she remained for ten days, receiving daily a large number of visitors. Beginning to suffer more and more she returned to consult me. I found the right tonsil hypertrophied and the pillars covered with mucous patches!

I could quote many more of such cases that came under my observation in which patients that were affected with syphilitic chancre, were sent to us for herpes or soft chancre.

For a long time I teach and repeat again and again that many of the allegedly herpetic lesions, particularly in women, are nothing else than mucous patches, and the majority of soft chancres are in reality mixed chancres as has been proven by the clinical evolution and the seroreaction.

You see, I quote only errors which were made in easy cases in which the diagnosis could be established upon a simple examination and where it was hardly necessary to interrogate the patients; indeed, every physician ought to know that in the matter of syphilis he should not trust the affirmation of the patients for in nine cases out of ten they have but one aim, namely, to cheat the physician and to mislead his diagnosis. Chiefly nowadays, it is necessary that every physician should know that syphilis is spreading more and more, and cannot more be regarded as a disease which is only to be found in large cities. We must fear that soon we shall have syphilitics in the smallest villages and all the

dangers of a further propagation resulting from infection and heredity.

Moreover, the insufficiency of many physicians in the matter of syphilis has struck me for a long time. Twelve years ago I asked the Council of the Medical Faculty to make it obligatory for all the students of medicine to attend a course of two or three months at the Clinic for Cutaneous and Syphilitic diseases. I reckoned that after a course of this duration all the students could pass in my service during the fourth year of their curriculum. They did not say that I was wrong, but the decision was postponed, and nothing was done. It is customary in France to make no provisions for the prevention of an evil the remedies for which are sought always after its arrival.

In spite of the alarming increase of syphilis since the beginning of the war, it is not only the war which is to be held responsible for this state of affairs which was only precipitated by the war. Don't you believe that the syphilitic peril was created solely by the war; its cause has to be found in antebellum conditions the development of which were only furthered and accelerated by the war. For a long time competent men recognized the danger.

More than once I pointed out the danger of syphilis, as in my Report to the Academy, in 1912. This report which was never published but carefully preserved in the archives of the Ministry of the Interior, made some noise at that time. Being obliged to call attention to the deficiencies of the service of the Board of Public Health, in regard to syphilis, leprosy and tuberculosis, I declared as follows: "I wish we were visited from time to time by the cholera, malta fever, and even the plague. There is a contagious and infectious disease of an epidemic as well as an endemic character which affects one-third of the population but does not disturb a bit those higher up. I mean syphilis. Indeed, I am astonished that this permanent endemic disease has not yet aroused the attention of the public authorities. I believe, that some persons could be found who would devote themselves to the study of means and ways by which the propagation of syphilis and venereal diseases could be hindered." I wrote this four years ago. My warning was not heeded. In spite of my report which was not taken into consideration and which brought me nothing but abuse, they continued doing nothing. To-day you see the results. I say this without any acrimony but with sadness. That report contained useful information of how to combat the venereal peril.

SOCIAL AND SEXUAL BEHAVIOR OF MONKEYS WITH
SOME COMPARABLE FACTS IN HUMAN
SEXUAL BEHAVIOR.

E. J. KEMPF (*Psychoanalytic Review*, April, 1917) states that we can no longer hold that the individual is solely responsible for his tendencies to homosexuality, auto-eroticism or perverseness in his sexual life. His progenitors developed, perhaps needed, such interests and we must bring about an enlightened course of sublimation of the abnormal sexual tendencies. In order to obtain more insight into the phylogenetic determination of man's social and sexual life and some knowledge of the infra-human primates' social and sexual life, the author carried out certain experiments. Six macacus rhesus monkeys were observed for a period of 8 months. The personalities of the six monkeys were as distinctly different as so many people. For convenience the monkeys were named A, B, C, D, E and F. A, B, and C were about six months old when acquired. C was a female. D, E and F were males who had reached sexual maturity and were capable of the complete sexual act.

A was very timid and shy. He gave way to the demands of all the others and adapted himself as best he could by any other means but the use of force. Despite the oppression of the others he was a happy, fastidious little monkey.

B was very different in his reaction tendencies and disposition. He was courageous and aggressive. He dominated A and C, taking food from them at will.

C was very much like B in aggressiveness and inquisitiveness. A, B and C were more fond of each other than of the large monkeys, probably because of fear of punishment by them.

D was apparently a matured male. He dominated all of the group except E, who alone consistently tried to take food from him.

E was the largest and strongest monkey of the six and recognized as the leader of the band. His wishes were never disputed. He forced any of the others to submit as his sexual object when it was his pleasure.

F, a quick, alert monkey, was very different in many of his reaction tendencies from any of the others. He was more cruel than the rest. He often tried to force A, B and C to submit as sexual objects, but never D or E. On the contrary, he submitted

to either D or E as the sexual object, until either had gratified his sexual hunger. Occasionally, then, D or E submitted as sexual objects for him. F's sexual position was different from that of the rest in that although he occasionally assumed the characteristic sexual position (elevated buttocks and lowered chest and head) he rarely maintained it longer than necessary to induce a sexual approach from another monkey. Almost invariably he raised his shoulders and head to a full height by resting on his extended forearms and exposed his teeth as if to bite. He never stopped watching his sexual patron. He was never observed to touch the lips of his sexual patron or object.

A and B or D and E when paired off in separate cages usually assumed the sexual position for one another upon the slightest expression of desire for it by the other and usually responded to the wishes of the one in the sexual position whenever that position was assumed. The individual's method of expressing his desire that the other monkey should assume the sexual position was shown by a characteristic smacking of the lips, pulling upward on the hind-quarters of the sexual object, touching, looking at and often smelling of the genitalia and anus of the object. If the affective-motive (desire) was slight this was all that happened. If the exposure of the visual, olfactory and tactile receptors generated more sexual affect it was manifested in the more vigorous play of the aggressor and more animated smacking of the lips. Its intensification was often further expressed by soft voice sounds. This usually aroused like responses in the sexual object and the play continued until the summation of affect had generated a very active sexual craving. Insertion of the penis into the anus was finally made, followed by rapid strokes and kissing of the lips until mild general convulsive movements resulted.

The following observations illustrate the usual sexual and social behavior of the monkeys: A, B and C were in a cage together. E was admitted. E mounted A immediately. B tried to punch E's genitalia while E was mounted on A, who had assumed the sexual position for him. E struck at B's hand and B moved behind E. B tried to mount E while E was still mounted upon A. E pushed B away. Then B pulled A away from E and assumed the sexual position before E. E then mounted B. After a few seconds E again mounted A. B pulled A away a second time and substituted himself, backing up to E. A then pulled at E's scrotum while E was mounted on B and B barked threateningly at A for interfering.

All of this time C isolated herself by sitting in a corner and chewed food. When E pulled her out of the corner to play with her she joined in the play as long as necessary.

D and F, who had previously been indifferent towards one another, became very active. D mounted F and vigorously attempted to copulate.

Sadistic forms of play, such as the persecution of C by B or A by C, as shown by the sexual reactions of the other monkeys, had a distinct erotic influence and *may be compared to the erotic influence of bull fights, cock fights, dog fights and prize fights so popular with men.*

When D and F were admitted to A, B, C and E, F renewed his assault upon B which was so vicious that B screamed with terror. B's defense was to seek the protection of E by getting behind E and even crawling under him. E struck at F. F finally caught B, who became catatonic and passively allowed F to manipulate him.

Monkeys will often protect their favorites from persecution by other monkeys even at the risk of severe punishment. The monkey whose protection is sought is usually the sexual favorite.

The catatonic attitude as a reflex defensive adaptation.—The following observations will illustrate the nature of such adaptations: D and F were caged together. C, whose genitalia were swollen and bleeding, probably menstruating, was admitted. F began to pet and examine her. D scratched at her and growled threateningly. C promptly fled into a corner. Then D reached down and pulled her out of the corner by her head. She allowed him to pull her head far to one side and passively held it in this awkward position for nearly a minute after D had abandoned her. F now approached and pulled her head around. She was perfectly plastic. He pulled her lips apart and examined her teeth. She continued plastic. He studied her face with much interest. Then he bit gently at her throat. Then he slapped her several times. Finally he left her. There was apparently a certain amount of sexual satisfaction in this for her, because now she raised her buttocks and held herself for further examination. D and F did not respond to this.

Catatronics experience sensory images (hallucinations) of being examined, manipulated, being sexually assaulted and frequently reveal afterwards that mingled fear and eroticism deter-

mined this reflex unconscious type of adjustment to the fearful yet pleasant sensations.

Sexual favors offered to retain food and protection.—Sexual favors were frequently offered so as to retain possession of food. Food was occasionally shared with a sexual favorite by a stronger monkey, who at the same time refused some of it to another monkey towards whom he was sexually indifferent. Sexual favorites also obtained protection from assault by other monkeys and frequently sought this protection.

Mechanism of erotogenesis.—The sensorimotor sexual reflex stimuli do not work unless the appropriate stimuli are applied. The appropriate stimuli which cause reactions of a frank sexual nature, in one sense, constitute quite a variety and they vary both with the individual and his affective state. Their stimulating values shade from the subliminal to those causing maximal reactions, which latter are apparently selected when obtainable. Stimuli which tend to cause maximal reactions apparently fluctuate in value depending upon the state of sexual fatigue or affective craving and the newness of the stimuli.

A patient, physically normal, was in an anxiety state because when he attempted sexual intercourse with a woman who was otherwise personally attractive to him, he always had to visualize the face of a man (a former sexual object) to replace the face of the woman.

Another patient always visualized the face of a certain type of woman whenever he attempted sexual intercourse with any woman.

Still another woman, sexually indifferent at the time, resorted to oral erotic acts to arouse himself sufficiently to have sexual relations.

A young soldier was in a serious anxiety state because he had lost his heterosexual potency after oral sexual relations with a woman. The normal act after this experience was disagreeable.

Like an isolated band of male monkeys who revert to homosexual relations, groups of isolated men also normally revert to forms of homosexual relations whenever esthetic, athletic and refined interests are strongly discouraged. This frequently occurs in prisons, asylums, and among soldiers and sailors. Too severe moral restrictions of heterosexual interests in such men is an extremely serious innovation and one that must be given the gravest

consideration before the misconception of certain types of moralists are applied.

Sexual indifference may result from either the inappropriateness of the sexual object or from fatigue of the sexual sensorimotor system through excessive stimulation by a too constant object, or when other affective disturbances are present, such as anger, fear, hunger, etc.

Sexual reinvigoration may promptly occur upon the presentation of a new sexual object. For example, when the monkeys D and E had been caged together for several days they became sexually indifferent to one another, for little or no sexual play occurred. When B was admitted, almost immediately E began to play with B, mingling overt sexual acts with playful wrestling until the affective state was one of marked eroticism, as manifested by persistent attempts at copulation. Similar behavior occurs in man, such as the frequent sexual interest between business and social companions, the married man and his mistress, the married woman and her lover, and the affective indifference between many married couples. Perhaps no other features of the constitution of man has caused so much social turmoil and self-imposed distress as this phylogenetic predisposition of his affective-sensorimotor system. He likes to think of it as an impersonal thing and calls it the work of the devil, immorality, the wickedness of the flesh and threatens his unruly neurons with the pains of hell fire. Hatred, anxiety, divorces, insanity, suicides, murders and social ruination commonly result from the conflicts with this phylogenetic predisposition of erotogenesis.

A B S T R A C T S

HOMOSEXUAL AND HETEROSEXUAL TENDENCIES.

Studies of animal behavior have shown that probably all animals must learn how to manipulate themselves. The tadpole and fish learn to swim, the frog to jump, the chick to peck, the bird to fly, the babe to nurse. Objective learning (manipulation of environment) and subjective learning (manipulation of self) occur through conditioning of reflexes, as well as imitation of acquired methods of other for the development of novel sensorimotor associations, etc.

Upon the differences in inherent sexual selective tendencies McDougall says that Freud "would explain the direction of the

sex impulse of man towards woman by the assumption that the male infant derives sexual pleasure from the act of suckling at his mother's breast. How, then, does the sex instinct of woman become directed towards man? How explain the fact that homosexuality is not the rule in women?"

If men are similar in their phylogenetic constitution to the male monkeys, as studied by the author as well as Hamilton, where the tendency towards homosexuality precedes and predominates the tendency towards heterosexuality, then McDougall's question may be answered by the observation that males and females apparently do not begin with the same selective tendencies. In males there is apparently a predisposition to particular sexual interests which include those of homosexual nature, as well as a predisposing selective tendency to acquire the female which has a secondary value to the homosexual interests for a certain period of years during which time the homosexual tendencies may become fixed.

In man the universal precedence of overt or disguised homosexual interests during the growth of the individual is recognized as normal. The gradual transfer to heterosexual interests has been found, through the analysis of a large series of men and women, to be a delicate functional procedure with a constant liability to regression to homosexual interests until a thorough heterosexual transfer is made. Homosexual fixation and heterosexual failure is in a large group of individuals determined by the organic constitution of the individual, but a still larger functional group of males and females, who are organically normal, have had their sexual reflexes so "conditioned" by pleasant and unpleasant experiences that, despite all conscious wishes to regulate them, they have become fixed homosexual types.

Some of the most profound and irrevocable tendencies to chronic dissociations of the personality are based upon the fearful anxiety caused by complete sexual inversion. Why it is universally considered to be more "effeminate," "weak" or "unmanly" to be the homosexual object than the homosexual patron seems to have its foundation farther back in the phylogenetic scale than the influence of social culture.

Probably the irrepressible craving to assume the female rôle in the sexual act causes so much distress because the individual's other wishes, namely, to be "manly," "strong," biologically as potent as others, are so seriously conflicted with and belied. Hamilton observed that eunuchs, although they attempted copulation with females, would assume the sexual position for smaller and weaker males.

SEXUAL DESIRE AND ACQUISITIVENESS.

Man has found it necessary to protect himself from himself (his sexual tendencies) in his social relations. It is found necessary to have chaperoned most forms of social relations, which implies that practically all such social relations are habitually associated with the sex problem and are inherently a part of acquisitive tendencies. A soldier, stationed for four months with several companions far out in the wilderness among snow-covered mountains, complained that the terrible loneliness was responsible for the excessive masturbation among the men. Apparently the men became instances of the reversion to autoeroticism, in which the individual becomes a self-sufficient erotogenic mechanism and his own sexual object in order to avoid suffering depression from the loss of an object for his affections.

A very intelligent woman adopted a puppy to suckle her breasts after she had weaned her baby. She told her physician that she felt very affectionate towards the puppy. So also, shepherds, cowboys, hostlers and farmers have been known to adopt their animals for sexual purposes.

Children adopt pets and become strongly attached to them, personify them, substitute them as companions and have a marked sexual interest in them. Polymorphous perverse reactions are quite common in children and adults of poorly sublimated types and in some instances of otherwise highly sublimated types. By sublimation is meant the natural substitution of useful, artistic or abstract objects for the actual objects required by the affect. For example, an unmarried sculptress who desires a child and cannot marry, creates bronze and marble babies. The creative affect is satisfied to a comfortable degree and civilization is the gainer by her artistic creations. But if she were not trained to satisfy her affective cravings through her art or some other form of creative work, her persistent affective needs would eventually either have forced a socially censured motherhood or burdened society with a neurotic woman.—*Urol. and Cut. Review.*

HEREDITARY SYPHILIS IN THE THIRD GENERATION.

In the *Annales des Maladies Vénériennes*, of November, 1916, Dr. E. Gaucher discusses three cases in which the descendants of the same great-grandfather were luetics, suffering from dental

and cerebral distrophies, adenoid vegetations, idiocy, strabismus and enterocolitis. This man who transmitted such a fateful inheritance even unto the third generation, was affected with paraplegia of syphilitic origin. He died young. His family spoke always with a certain reserve of him. The first of his great-grandchildren, a girl, 9½ years old, well developed and of good appearance, presenting a dystrophy of the upper median incisors, a slight scoliosis of the left side which was under treatment and improving. She had been operated upon for adenoid vegetations. Her serum reaction was weakly positive. The second patient, a girl, 6 years old, of retarded mental development, almost idiotic, not yet able to speak and hardly to walk, had a pale and somewhat tumid skin, convergent strabismus, a flat nose and very poor and almost decayed teeth of the primary dentition. Altho her serum reaction was only suspicious, of the three patients this child was the worst afflicted with hereditary syphilis. In the writer's opinion, even a completely negative Wassermann proves nothing and cannot invalidate a diagnosis for syphilis, certainly not hereditary syphilis. The third patient, a boy, 3 years old, suffering from enterocolitis since birth, had been operated upon for adenoid vegetations. His Wassermann was strongly positive. The father of these three children affirmed that he had never had sexual intercourse before marriage. The writer told him to test his and his wife's blood. His wife was in the eighth month of pregnancy. At the end of the same month the man returned. His wife's Wassermann was negative, his distinctly positive, which in the writer's opinion, could be only explained by his heredity. Prof. Gaucher taking up his mental notes, made a retrospective inquest of the pathologic antecedents of this family. About 18 years ago, he had treated the paternal grandfather of the three infected children for a slight attack of cerebral hemorrhage and prescribed iodide of potassium which was followed by recovery. Interrogated as to his past, he affirmed that he had never had syphilis. This same man, without acquired syphilis, was affected with divergent strabismus, and presented a dystrophy of the mucous lining of the tongue, which, however, was not very pronounced, and is described under the name of fissured tongue. The writer learned that several years later this grand-father succumbed to a second attack of cerebral hemorrhage. He died at Vichy whither he had been sent because of diabetes from which he was suffering. He was a victim of hereditary syphilis which in the writer's opinion must be retraced to the initial infection of the great-grandfather.

GONOCOCCUS CARRIERS.

In treating of carriers of the gonococcus, Dr. Eugene Holt Eastman (*Ill. M. J.*) points to the disproportion in the number of gonorrhea existing in the male and the female. He quotes an authority who tells us that six women suffer from it to one male. Yet the women are much in the minority in the number of cases which report for treatment. The greatest number of women terminate their cases on the operating table. It has been estimated that from 70 to 90 per cent. of all operations in the female pelvis are due to gonorrhea. Yet many a woman who has been accused of having contributed this disease, has submitted to examination without receiving a positive diagnosis. This is because the infection of the vagina is not frequent. The secretion from the vagina is acid in reaction which with the squamous pavement of this canal makes an unsuitable site for the establishment of infection. (The vagina of the adult is paved with squamous cells. In children, infection of the vulva and introitus is the rule). Columnar epithelia are present in the urethra. The female urethra is frequently the site of infection. But urethritis is so painful that the patient will not be a willing partner to coitus while enduring this suffering. The most common source of infection from the female is the cervix uteri with the columnar epithelium of the internal os. It is also the most difficult field for determining a diagnosis. The difficulty lies in the fact that the gonococci penetrate deeply into the interstices of the columnar epithelium lining the os, and remain there, seldom making themselves evident in the discharge. During and just following menstruation the gonococcus is most active and the field for its proliferation at this time eminently fertile because during this period the membranes are congested and copiously supplied with blood. If the mucous discharge from the os be examined microscopically during or just following a menstruation, the gonococcus, if present, will usually be found. This accounts for the popular belief that intercourse at this time will invariably result in gonorrhea. The gonococcus once having installed itself within the external os, proceeds in time to become chronic. There may be little or no discharge and practically no discomfort. It is in these chronic cases that examination per speculum fails to establish a diagnosis. If not arrested in this locality, infection passes upward involving the tubes and ovaries, and pus from a discharging pyosalpinx is a dangerous source of infection to the male. It

has been estimated that 95 per cent. [Baseless exaggeration!] of chronic endocervicitis is gonorrheal. In the male, the urethra is usually bathed in an acid urine which militates against infection to some degree, but following intercourse the urethra is bathed in an alkaline semen which neutralizes the field and renders it temporarily more susceptible to infection. The appearance of a discharge within 24 hours after intercourse is usually the re-establishment of an old case. This is what is popularly called a "strain." Gonorrheics carry the diplococci in their glands or mucous cells in chronic form until their resistance is lowered when there will follow a more or less severe exacerbation of the disease. Under artificial cultivation the gonococcus will decline in virulence after the thirtieth generation. The patient who has been its carrier for years, acquires a tolerance for it, or the strain becomes too attenuated to produce any visible effect, but let this same strain be passed to a second person and in its virulence is at once revived. The writer mentions the experiments Wertheim made with the gonococcus. Making culture from a case of two years' standing, he attempted to infect the original urethra and met with failure. However, a healthy urethra was readily infected with this culture, and when pus from the latter was introduced into the original urethra there resulted a severe gonorrhea.

USEFUL INSTABILITY OF A MENTAL STOCK.

Observation of the hereditary transmission of qualities in families shows that a bad line of descent sometimes tends to die out naturally thru deepening mental and physical degeneration. Yet there may be at the same time in the same family a good line of ascent in one or another person of the tainted stock. Indeed a degree of mobile instability of the mental stock which in excess or in unpropitious circumstances issues in insanity seems positively to favor occurrence of the variation which develops sometimes into special talent or genius; a too hardened and fixed constitution of the stock being unapt to change and put forth a promising variation. Eugenic rules of breeding, if put into force, might therefore not turn out to be entirely eugenic in their consequences; to get rid of all the qualities in the species which are thought bad might be to pluck up the very taproots of its vitality and eventually emasculate it.—DR. HENRY MAUDSLEY: *Organic to Human*.

Psycho-Sexual Gleanings

AN INTERESTING CASE OF CLAUSTROPHOBIA.

W. H. B. Rivers (*Lancet*, August 18, 1917) records the case of a medical man thirty-one years old who was of a very nervous temperament and who suffered from some stammering and a very pronounced form of claustrophobia. The latter condition took the form of being afraid of closed spaces chiefly on account of the possibility of not being able to get out of them should anything happen. This phobia seemed to date from the time when he was six years old and was forced to sleep on the inside of a "box bed." Various attempts to cure the condition by psychanalysis, in which he was told that his trouble was connected with some sexual experience, failed to disclose the true cause of the condition and did not relieve him. Finally by means of a plan of psychanalysis carried out by the author and the patient, in which he was told to remember and study his dreams and recall any events which they suggested, and which did not even mention the possibility of a sexual element, the cause was brought out and much relief resulted. The cause was found to have dated from the time the patient was three or four years old when he was accidentally locked in a dark hallway with a growling dog at its further end. This was followed by several severe illnesses which probably gave occasion for the relegation of the memory to his subconscious. The absolutely free association practiced in the analysis carried out mainly by the patient himself was what was required to recall the memory. It is emphasized by the author that much harm can be done and many failures recorded when psychanalysis is practised with the obsession that there must be some suppressed sexual element at the basis of the patient's trouble. The only scientific way to proceed is to encourage absolutely free association of ideas without suggestions as to the probable ultimate revelations which will emerge. The associations should be analyzed as they occur and the patient's thoughts then directed along the lines which seem the most promising.—*N. Y. Med. Jour.*

PRACTICAL RULES FOR THE "WOMAN QUESTION."

Let there be the freest scope given to all women with masculine dispositions who feel a psychic necessity to devote themselves to masculine occupations and are physically fit to undertake them.

But the idea of making an emancipation party, of aiming at a social revolution, must be abandoned. Away with the whole "woman's movement," with its unnaturalness and artificiality and its fundamental errors."—WEININGER. [How funny it sounds now!]

IS WOMAN SUPERIOR TO MAN?

It is absurd to make comparisons between the few really intellectual women and one's average experience of men, and to deduce the superiority of the female sex. As Darwin pointed out, the proper comparison is between the most highly developed individuals of two stocks. "If two lists were made of the most eminent men and women in poetry, painting, sculpture, music, history, science, and philosophy with half a dozen names under each subject, the two lists would not bear comparison."—WEININGER: "*Descent of Man*."

THERE IS NOTHING NEW UNDER THE SUN.

"Emancipation," "woman's rights movements," are no new things in history. As has been the case with every other movement, so also it has been with the contemporary woman's movement. Its originators were convinced that it was being put forward for the first time, and that such a thing had never been thought of before. They maintained that women had hitherto been held in bondage and enveloped in darkness by man, and that it was high time for her to assert herself and claim her natural rights. The prototype of this movement occurred in the earliest times. Ancient history and medieval times alike give us instances of women who, in social relations and intellectual matters, fought for such emancipation, and of male and female apologists of the female sex. Sir Thomas Moore claimed for it full equality with the male sex, and Agrippa von Nettesheim goes so far as to represent women as superior to men. And yet this was all lost for the fair sex, and the whole question sank into oblivion from which the nineteenth century recalled it.—WEININGER.

"MALES" AND "FEMALES."

Living beings cannot be described bluntly as of one sex or the other. The real world from the point of view of sex, may be regarded as swaying between two points, no actual individual being at either point, but somewhere between the two. The task

of science is to define the position of any individual between these two points. The absolute conditions at the two extremes are not metaphysical abstractions above or outside the world of experience, but their construction is necessary as a philosophical and practical mode of describing the actual world.

A presentiment of this bisexuality of life (derived from the actual absence of complete sexual differentiation) is very old. Traces of it may be found in Chinese myths, but it became active in Greek thought. We may recall the mythical personification of bisexuality in the Hermaphroditos, the narrative of Aristophanes in the Platonic dialogue, or in later times the suggestion of a Gnostic sect (Theophites) that primitive man was a "man—woman."—WEININGER.

THE LAW OF SEXUAL ATTRACTION.

Everyone possesses a definite, individual taste of his own with regard to the other sex. . . . Sexual attraction is nearly always reciprocal. . . . The circumstance that fertilisation has the best results when it occurs between parents with maximum sexual affinity, supplies a strong corroboration to the law of sexual affinity (for special purposes the breeder, whose object frequently is to modify natural tendencies, will often disregard this tendency). Consideration of sexual aversion affords the readiest proof that the law holds good thruout the animal kingdom. . . . Men, when quite young, are attracted by much older women, whilst men of thirty-five are attracted by women much younger than themselves. So also on the other hand, quite young girls generally prefer much older men, but, later in life, marry striplings. . . . The law of sexual affinity is analogous in another respect to a well-known law of theoretical chemistry.

THE WOMAN QUESTION FROM WEININGER'S VIEWPOINT.

Woman's demand for emancipation and her qualification for it are in direct proportion to the amount of maleness in her. Emancipation is not the wish for an outward equality with man, but the deep-seated craving to acquire man's character, to attain his mental and moral freedom, to reach his real interests and his creative power. All those who are striving for this real emancipation, all women who are truly famous and are of conspicuous mental ability, reveal some of the anatomical characters of the male, some external

bodily resemblance to man. All those so-called "women" who have been held up to admiration, by the advocates of woman's rights, as examples of what women can do, have almost invariably been intermediate forms.

INTERCOURSE DURING PREGNANCY.

Dr. W. F. Robie writes of a man and a woman who had fallen in love with each other at first sight. He was a very considerate husband; both were moderately passionate. Intercourse was usually from two to four times a week. Oftener than this did not give her complete satisfaction, so he was not insistent. During pregnancy, intercourse was kept up, but with somewhat less frequency than before, and continued until a day or two before the children were born. She said: "If a woman ever wants her husband it is when she is pregnant. I certainly have stronger sexual feeling for mine than at any other time. I know people say that having desire and intercourse in pregnancy is likely to make the child sexually minded, but if this is so, the very act which results in conception being the same thing, should also make it so." The author adds that this woman of 26 has two beautiful and healthy children, and, tho never very robust, has improved very much in health since marrying and beginning to bear children.

GEROKOMY.

Readers of the Bible are acquainted with the history of King David to whom when he was old and decrepit a young virgin was brought and had to sleep with him, "that my lord the King may get heat." This device, afterwards called gerokomy, was employed by the Greeks and Romans, and has had followers in modern times. Boerhaave, the famous Dutch physician, "recommended an old burgomaster of Amsterdam to lie between two young girls, assuring him that he would thus recover strength and spirits." After quoting this, Hufeland (*Makrobiotik, or The Art of Prolonging Human Life*) made the following reflection: "If it be remembered how the exhalations from newly opened animals stimulate paralysed limbs [? Ed.] and how the application of living animals soothes a violent pain, we cannot refuse our approval to the method." Metchnikoff (*The Prolongation of Life*) refers to Cohausen, a doctor of the eighteenth century, who published a treatise on a Roman, Hermiphus, who had died aged a hundred and fifteen years. He

had been a master in a school for young girls, and his life, passed in their midst, was greatly prolonged. Hufeland comments thus: "Accordingly he gives the excellent advice to breathe the air of young girls night and morning, and gives his assurance that by so doing the vital forces will be strengthened and preserved, as adepts know well that the breath of young girls contains the vital principle in all its purity." Hufeland lived in the eighteenth century.

WHERE MALTHUS WAS WRONG.

The check to overpopulation mainly advocated by Malthus is a prudential delay in the time of marriage; but the practice of such a doctrine would assuredly be limited, and if limited it would be most prejudicial to the race. The doctrine would only be followed by the prudent and self-denying; it would be neglected by the impulsive and self-seeking. Those whose race we especially want to have, would leave few descendants, while those whose race we especially want to be quit of, would crowd the vacant space with their progeny, and the strain of population would thenceforward be just as pressing as before. There would have been a little relief during one or two generations, but no permanent increase of the general happiness, while the race of the nation could have deteriorated. The practical application of the doctrine of deferred marriage would therefore lead indirectly to most mischievous results that were overlooked owing to the neglect of considerations bearing on race. . . . The misery check, as Malthus called all those influences that are not prudential, is an ugly phrase not fully justified Population decays under conditions that cannot be charged to the presence or absence of misery in the common sense of the word. It is certainly not wholly due to misery, but rather to listlessness, due to discouragement, and acting adversely in many ways. One notable result of dulness and apathy is to make a person unattractive to the opposite sex and to be unattracted by them. It is antagonistic to sexual affection, and the result is a diminution of offspring. . . . One cannot fairly apply the term "misery" to apathy. I should rather say that strong affections restrained from marriage by prudential considerations more truly deserved that name.—FRANCIS GALTON: *"Inquiries Into Human Faculty and Its Development."*